

# **MASS ATROCITY CRIMES IN DARFUR AND THE RESPONSE OF GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN BROADCASTERS TO INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE<sup>1</sup>**

Version of 17 August 2006, 10pm/Formatting to be restored

Dr. Frank Chalk  
History Department  
Concordia University  
and the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies (MIGS)  
and  
Danielle Kelton  
MIGS Intern

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

The first purpose of this chapter is to examine the Government of Sudan's domestic radio and television news broadcasts as indicators of the Sudanese government's intentions in Darfur and southern Sudan. It addresses a number of important questions: Does the Government of Sudan genuinely intend to share authority over Darfur's and southern Sudan's oil and other natural resources and grant their citizens fair portions of the revenues accruing from their sale? Will the Government in Khartoum call off and disarm the Janjaweed militia ending its harassment, rape and murder of civilians in Darfur? Is the Government of Sudan serious about implementing the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for the South?

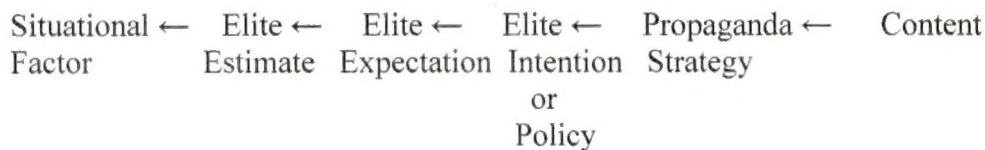
It was Alexander George, political scientist, RAND corporation researcher and strategist, who distilled the observation from World War Two propaganda research that one of the surest indicators of an authoritarian government's intentions and future plans was the carefully crafted information it fed to its people in their own language.<sup>2</sup> Refining studies of the broadcasts of German radio during World War Two, George found that Joseph Goebbels and his aides had prepared the German public for important changes in

---

<sup>1</sup> Frank Chalk would like to acknowledge the vital help he received at the start of his study of radio broadcasting from sociologist Prof. Kurt Jonassohn, his colleague and then co-director of the Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies at Concordia University, as well as the valuable research assistance provided for this paper and his current work on radio broadcasting and mass atrocity crimes by MIGS graduate student fellow Erin Jesse and MIGS interns Maha El-Kadi, Chiara Fish, Inken Heldt, Tara Tavender, and Scarlett Trazo. The outstanding research contributions of Danielle Kelton fully justify her listing as the co-author of this work. Helen Scadding Sproul of the BBC Monitoring Service (Caversham Park, UK) fulfilled every request for data with the enthusiasm and professional élan one expects from the BBC. Any errors of fact or interpretation are Frank Chalk's alone. Portions of this paper were originally presented at the University of Western Ontario conference on the Crisis in Darfur, 30 October 2005, London, Ontario.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander George, "Prediction of Political Action by Means of Propaganda Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 20, 1, Special Issue in Political Communication (Spring 1956): 334-345; and *Propaganda Analysis: A Study of Inferences Made from Nazi Propaganda in World War II* (Evanston, IL: Row, Peterson, 1959).

policy through anticipatory news releases and commentaries. He diagrammed the relationships as follows:<sup>3</sup>



Directives and guidelines issued weekly and sometimes daily by Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda preceded new directions in Nazi policies and explicitly suggested stories designed to shape how the public would respond to them.<sup>4</sup> By these means, George argued, the Nazi elite minimized the probability of sparking a backlash before making policy changes and signaled the response it wanted to evoke among its own citizens when a prepared action was implemented. Reinforcing Alexander George's analysis, intellectual and cultural historian Jeffrey Herf's recent research in the transcripts of domestic German radio broadcasts has shown that they provided one of the earliest and most sustained warning indicators of Hitler's intention to annihilate the Jews of Europe.<sup>5</sup>

The Government of Sudan's crimes against humanity and the potential for genocide in the Darfur region of western Sudan looms large in current debates over the responsibility of by-standing nations to protect vulnerable populations from their own governments.<sup>6</sup> One purpose of this essay is to assess just how seriously observers should take the frequent declarations of the Government of Sudan (GOS) in international forums reiterating its desire for peace and reconciliation with the armed guerillas of Darfur and the South. This is an issue with important current policy implications for the Security Council of the United Nations, by-standing states, non-government organizations, and student organizations seeking to halt atrocity crimes in Darfur.

The Republic of Sudan is a nation of some 41.2 million persons occupying the largest land area in Africa. With a literacy rate of 61.1 percent (71.8 percent for men and 50.5 percent for women),<sup>7</sup> radio broadcasting is by far the most important medium for communicating news within the country. The major government broadcasters and web sites in Sudan are Republic of Sudan Radio (Arabic/Omdurman), Sudan TV (Arabic and,

<sup>3</sup> Alexander George, *Propaganda Analysis*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Alexander George, *Propaganda Analysis*, see esp. chap. 2, "A General Action Schema for Propaganda Analysis," and chap. 11, "Prediction of an Elite's Major Actions."

<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey Herf, "The 'Jewish War': Goebbels and the Antisemitic Campaigns of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 19, 1 (Spring 2005): 51-80. Herf's research revises the conventional wisdom in the field, shaped by Hannah Arendt and others, which held that little in the German media substantially revealed the ferocity or the timing of the Nazis' actual implementation of their genocidal intentions towards the Jews of Europe. For a discussion of Arendt's early insights and change of position, see Herf, *Ibid.*, 54-55.

<sup>6</sup> On the responsibility to protect, sometimes abbreviated as R2P, see Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty, *The Responsibility to Protect* (Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> "Key Facts: Sudan," U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization accessed on 30 June 2006 at: [http://www.fao.org/reliefoperations/app\\_sudan\\_intro\\_en.asp](http://www.fao.org/reliefoperations/app_sudan_intro_en.asp); CIA, *The World Factbook*, "Sudan, Literacy" accessed on 30 June 2006 at <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html>



rarely, in English/Omdurman), the Sudanese Media Centre web site (Arabic/Khartoum), and the Sudan News Agency (SUNA) web site (Arabic and English/Khartoum). A subscription to the BBC Monitoring Service provided access to translations of transcripts from Arabic to English for these broadcasters and web sites.

Although there were only 250,000 TV sets in Sudan in 2002, we have found that the Government of Sudan has frequently initiated policy changes by first preparing the attitudes of the members of the educated elite, who are numerous among Sudanese with access to TV sets and the World Wide Web.<sup>8</sup> Access to the web is growing in Sudan, but was limited to 1.14 million users in 2005.<sup>9</sup>

## **2. INTIMIDATION OF EDITORS AND REPORTERS IN SUDAN**

Named “one of the world’s most repressive regimes for the independent media” in 2005 by Freedom House, the domestic media in Sudan operate in one of the most tightly controlled and restricted environments in Africa.<sup>10</sup> “The Government [of Sudan] directly controlled radio and television and required that they reflect government policies,” reported the U.S. Department of State in 2005, and “Television has a permanent military censor to ensure that the news reflected official views.”<sup>11</sup> Amnesty International confirms that the clampdown on freedom of expression is especially severe for Sudanese journalists reporting on the Darfur crisis. Intimidation, harassment, and imprisonment of journalists, Amnesty concludes, have “prevented the majority of Sudanese from understanding what is happening in Darfur or debating solutions which might bring peace to the province.”<sup>12</sup>

The Government of Sudan seeks to control all news about Sudan. Sudan’s police and intelligence agencies, both civilian and military, regulate the movements of journalists, domestic and foreign. Government interference spans a broad spectrum of responses including lengthy interviews by the police, detention in cells, beatings and torture of journalists, and the suspension and closing of media outlets.<sup>13</sup> Some issues are

---

<sup>8</sup> Estimate from the Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, Country Profile: Sudan, December 2004, “Telecommunications” accessed on 30 June 2006 at: <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/sudan.pdf>

<sup>9</sup> CIA, The World Factbook, “Sudan, Communications” accessed on 30 June 2006 at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/su.html>

<sup>10</sup> International Press Institute, “World Press Freedom Review—2005—Sudan,” accessed on 4 August 2006 at [http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom\\_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0004/KW0104/](http://www.freemedia.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail.html?country=/KW0001/KW0004/KW0104/)

<sup>11</sup> U.S. Department of State, Country Report on Human Rights Practices, 2005, “Sudan, Section 2, Respect for Civil Liberties, Including: a. Freedom of Speech and Press,” accessed on 4 August 2006 at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61594.htm>

<sup>12</sup> Amnesty International Report, “Sudan—Intimidation and Denial—Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Darfur,” August 2004, accessed on the web on 7 July 2006 at: <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGAFR541012004>

<sup>13</sup> U.S. Department of State, Country Report on Human Rights Practices, 2005 “Sudan, Section 2, Respect for Civil Liberties, Including: a. Freedom of Speech and Press,” accessed on 4 August 2006 at: <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2005/61594.htm>; “Sudan suspends second southern paper,” Reuters, 25 June 2005, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php?id\\_article=10366](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php?id_article=10366); “Columnist spends weekend in prison



more sensitive than others. The media are almost certain to be censored when they report on the army and its activities.<sup>14</sup> Article 25 of the Press Law of Sudan forbids the publication of any news about the armed forces without their prior authorization.<sup>15</sup> The peace process in the south of Sudan was banned from discussion by the National Press Council until the Government decided to negotiate the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).<sup>16</sup> Articles on slavery in Sudan are banned, as is any criticism of the government and its policies.<sup>17</sup> Interviews with opposition politicians and news about their parties are similarly banned.<sup>18</sup>

Foreign media and non-government organizations face stringent restrictions as well. Al-Jazeera TV's office in Khartoum was raided by police, and its broadcast equipment seized because the Qatar-based TV station interviewed members of opposition groups in December 2003.<sup>19</sup> Al-Jazeera was accused of "transmitting numerous programmes 'stuffed with false information and poor biased analyses.'"<sup>20</sup> In January 2004, the Government of Sudan permanently closed its office for promoting false reports about Sudan.<sup>21</sup> The Khartoum bureau chief of Al-Jazeera was sentenced to one month in prison for reporting false information and obstructing customs officers in their duties in April 2004.<sup>22</sup> American freelance photographer Brad Clift was detained and placed under house arrest in April 2005 for taking photos and interviewing refugees in Darfur.<sup>23</sup> And in May 2005, two Médecins Sans Frontières representatives were arrested and charged

---

for criticizing president," Reporters Without Borders, 3 January 2006, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=13369](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=13369)

<sup>14</sup> "Sudanese newspaper suspended for report on defense forces," AFP, 30 September 2003, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=427](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=427); "Sudanese army takes newspaper to court for 'demeaning' article," Associated Press, 14 July 2005, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=10645](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=10645)

<sup>15</sup> Amnesty International report, "Sudan—Intimidation and Denial—Attacks on Freedom of Expression in Darfur," August 2004, accessed on 9 July 2006 at: <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGAFR541012004>

<sup>16</sup> "New crackdown on the press in Sudan," Human Rights Watch News, 1 August 2003, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: <http://www.hrw.org/press/2003/08/sudan080103.html>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.; "Persecuted Sudanese Journalist flees country," Human Rights Watch, 12 November 2003, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=859](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=859); "Sudan suspends newspaper despite promise to stop media censorship," Associated Press, 10 November 2003, accessed on 30 May 2006 at [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=935](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=935).

<sup>18</sup> "Sudan arrests editor, cracks down on press," UPI, 12 September 2004, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=5392](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=5392); "Sudanese government lifts a 2 ½-year ban on pro-opposition newspaper," Associated Press, 12 May 2005, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=9512](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=9512)

<sup>19</sup> "Al Jazeera TV says police raid its Khartoum office," Reuters, 17 December 2003, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=1179](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=1179).

<sup>20</sup> Amnesty International report, "Sudan—Intimidation," August 2004, accessed on 9 July 2006 at: <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGAFR541012004>

<sup>21</sup> "Khartoum shuts down Jazeera office for good," QNA, 1 January 2004, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=1341](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=1341)

<sup>22</sup> "Sudanese court jails Al-Jazeera journalist for one month," Associate Press, 10 April 2004, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=2438](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=2438)

<sup>23</sup> "Freelance photographer detained in Sudan," Associate Press, 27 April 2005, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=9296](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=9296).



with “spying” and publishing false information when they reported the details of 500 rape cases in Western Darfur.<sup>24</sup>

The Government of Sudan accomplishes the suppression of news within a framework of bureaucratic regulations and “exhausting security restrictions” designed to furnish opportunities for intimidating reporters and representatives of non-governmental organizations.<sup>25</sup> According to Amnesty International, a Sudanese cannot travel in Darfur “without authorization from the national security and intelligence agency, the military intelligence, or the police.” In May 2004, the Government of Sudan promised visas within 48 hours to all humanitarian personnel, but strenuous restrictions continued to be applied to the movement of staff and the use of radios. Humanitarian workers in refugee camps, Amnesty International reports, “still have to send a ‘notification’ . . . to travel elsewhere in Darfur.” If their travel is delayed for any reason, they have to submit another request. Foreign journalists are almost always required to take along with them a Government of Sudan minder assigned by the Ministry of Information when they visit Darfur.<sup>26</sup>

### **3. DISTORTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL REACTIONS TO THE DARFUR SITUATION**

A second purpose of this chapter is to show how the official government broadcasters in Sudan distort the news of international reactions to the Darfur situation. Here are three important examples.

#### *1. Secretary of State Powell’s Statement Accusing Sudan of Genocide in Darfur, September 2004 and United Nations Security Council Resolutions Condemning Sudan’s Practices in Darfur*

On 9 September 2004, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, United States Secretary of State Colin Powell applied the word “genocide” to the Government of Sudan’s policies and actions in Darfur.<sup>27</sup> The Government-sponsored broadcasting media of Sudan treated his statement as a non-event. They simply did not report it.<sup>28</sup> Nor had the broadcast media covered an earlier UN Security Council resolution, number 1556, which demanded that the Government of Sudan fulfill its commitments to disarm the Janjaweed and bring them to justice.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the

<sup>24</sup> “World Press Freedom Review-2005: Sudan,” International Press Institute, accessed on 30 May 2006 at: [http://service.cms.apa.at/cms/ipi/freedom\\_detail-new.html?country=/KW001/KW004/KW0104](http://service.cms.apa.at/cms/ipi/freedom_detail-new.html?country=/KW001/KW004/KW0104)

<sup>25</sup> Amnesty International report, “Sudan—Intimidation,” August 2004, accessed on 9 July 2006 at: <http://web.amnesty.org/library/print/ENGAFR541012004>

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Glenn Kessler and Colum Lynch, “U.S. calls killings in Sudan genocide,” Washington Post, 10 September 2004, accessed on 22 July 2006 at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A8364-2004Sep9.html>.

<sup>28</sup> “Sudanese TV, radio coverage of Darfur on 9-16,” BBC Monitoring, Source: BBC Monitoring Research in English, 16 September 2004.

<sup>29</sup> UNSC Resolution 1556(2004): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5015<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 30 July 2004.

broadcast media failed to inform the Sudanese radio audience that just days after Powell's testimony the Security Council had adopted Resolution 1564 threatening sanctions against Sudan if it did not seek to end the violence and negotiate a comprehensive peace agreement with rebels in Sudan's southern regions.<sup>30</sup>

The first Sudanese broadcast to mention Powell's assertion appeared one week following his Senate Committee testimony, when Islamic cleric Sheik Abdeljalil al-Nazir al-Karuri, the Imam of the Al-Shahid (The Martyr) Mosque in Khartoum, ended his weekly Friday night sermon on Sudan TV by charging that Powell's allegation of genocide in Darfur was just another American lie designed to help the Zionist cause, a lie he placed in the same vein as the American claim that Iraq had possessed weapons of mass destruction before the U.S. invasion.<sup>31</sup> Al-Karuri is one of the few non-government commentators trusted by Sudan TV to rebut live on-air foreign officials critical of Sudan's policies in Darfur.<sup>32</sup> But Powell's charge of genocide, a word rarely heard in Sudanese broadcasts, quickly disappeared from Radio Sudan following al-Karuri's sermon.

Sudan's broadcast blackout of Powell's allegation is one indication that Sudanese government officials do not trust the average Sudanese to confront the damage done to Sudan's international reputation by Khartoum's support for the Janjaweed. Literate and computer savvy Sudanese, perceived in Khartoum as potential troublemakers by virtue of their reading skills, could peruse more reasoned statements on SUNA's Arabic language web site from Minister of Foreign Affairs Mustafa Uthman Isma'il and the Sudan News Agency attributing Powell's remark to pre-election American campaign politics and the Bush Administration's search for votes in November.<sup>33</sup>

## *2. Kofi Annan's Visit to Sudan, May 2005*

Kofi Annan, the United Nations Secretary-General, visited Sudan in May 2005, two months after the UN Security Council passed a resolution referring the atrocity crimes in Darfur to the new International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague and only days before the ICC launched an investigation of persons suspected of authorizing or committing atrocity crimes in Darfur.<sup>34</sup> Delivering his monthly report to the UN Security Council following his visit, Annan observed that the level of violence in Darfur was lower than a year earlier, but had mounted in May.<sup>35</sup> Annan noted some improvements in

---

<sup>30</sup> UNSC Resolution 1564(2004): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5040<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 18 September 2004.

<sup>31</sup> "Sudanese Friday preacher says 'there is no genocide in Darfur,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1030gmt, 17 September 2004.

<sup>32</sup> "Sudan: Friday preacher says USA making inroads into Darfur to enjoy its oil," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 20 August 2004.

<sup>33</sup> "Sudan criticizes Powell 'dangerous' remarks on Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA Web Site, in Arabic, 13 September 2004.

<sup>34</sup> "Secretary General visits Sudan (27-29 May 2005)", accessed on 25 July 2006 at: <http://www.un.org/av/photo/sgtrips/sgsudanmay05.htm>.

<sup>35</sup> "UN and Sudanese team go to Darfur, Annan reports security slightly better," UN News Service, 16 June 2005, accessed on 22 July 2005 at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/printable/200506160003.html>.



the situation, but characterized Janjaweed militia activity in the area as a serious threat to civilians.<sup>36</sup>

The Sudanese government media twisted and distorted Annan's statements to polish the Government's image. In its version, in his meeting with Foreign Minister Isma'il, Annan had focused on rebel atrocities in Darfur, emphasized his appreciation of Sudan's cooperation with the UN, and underscored the Government's positive role in accomplishing the southern Sudan peace agreement.<sup>37</sup> The Government media in Sudan omitted completely from its reports Annan's criticisms of the Government. Rather, the Sudan News Agency reported on 31 May that Annan was overwhelmed by the positive developments in Darfur and had complimented the Government of Sudan for respecting the Darfur ceasefire.<sup>38</sup> Annan's visit to Sudan also provided an occasion to represent the Government of Sudan as the injured party in the Darfur dispute. Viewers of Sudan TV were informed on 27 May that the Sudanese Women's Union and other civil society organizations had presented Annan on his arrival with a letter protesting unjust UN resolutions against Sudan; they accused the UN of spreading chaos, threatening social security, and arousing conflicts in Darfur.<sup>39</sup>

### *3. Secretary Rice's Visit to Sudan, July 2005*

U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice flew into Khartoum on 21 July 2005. She delivered a strong message to President al-Bashir, declaring that his government had "a credibility problem" and that she wanted to see "actions not words" by his Government to quell the violence in Western Darfur.<sup>40</sup> Sudan's violations of human rights in Darfur stood directly in the way of improved relations between Sudan and the United States, Rice had declared.<sup>41</sup> Rice concluded her meeting with al-Bashir by insisting that the violence in Darfur, especially against women, was a major obstacle to normalizing relations with the US.<sup>42</sup>

Sudan's Government media presented the story of her visit rather differently. According to Republic of Sudan Radio on 21 July, Rice had lauded the efforts made by the Government to resolve the crisis and held out the possibility of upgrading relations between Sudan and the United States.<sup>43</sup> President al-Bashir had thanked Rice for the

---

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> "Kofi Annan arrives in Sudan to discuss Darfur, peace agreement," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1000gmt, 27 May 2005; "UN's Annan in talks with Sudanese foreign minister; to visit Darfur 28 May," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 28 May 2005.

<sup>38</sup> "Annan 'overwhelmed' by developments in Darfur, says UN envoy to Sudan," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA website, in Arabic, 31 May 2005.

<sup>39</sup> "Sudanese women protest to visiting Annan over UN resolutions," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1000 gmt, 27 May 2005.

<sup>40</sup> "Rice says Sudan has credibility problem on Darfur," Reuters, 21 July 2005 accessed 25 June 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=1074.s](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=1074.s)

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> "Rice visits Sudan's troubled Darfur region," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 21 July 2005.



efforts made by the US to bring peace in Sudan, according to Sudan Radio.<sup>44</sup> US journalists traveling with Rice were manhandled by Sudanese security personnel and barred from the meeting between Rice and al-Bashir.<sup>45</sup> No official Sudanese government media mentioned this event, although Rice released a statement declaring that she was outraged and demanded an official apology.<sup>46</sup> Rice and al-Bashir had spent ten minutes seated in silence because al-Bashir's guards refused to admit her translator to the meeting.<sup>47</sup> Six days prior to Rice's arrival, Sudan TV had beamed a message to the American Secretary of State from Sheik al-Karuri, the Muslim cleric who regularly chanted Friday night prayers live from the Al-Shahid Mosque in Khartoum: end American government partiality for Israel, he demanded, "de-link [US] policies from the Jewish lobby groups," and disassociate your country from "the Jewish issue" since the Jews "want to destroy even the USA itself."<sup>48</sup>

#### **4. TRIGGERS PROMPTING THE GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN TO BROADCAST MISINFORMATION AT HOME, MAY 2004-AUGUST 2006, AND THE EMERGING NARRATIVE OF PRESIDENT OMAR HASSAN AL-BASHIR**

Foreign criticism and international sanctions against the Government of Sudan provide the major triggers for its disinformation campaigns in the official domestic media of Sudan. Distortion and highly selective fact picking characterize these government campaigns. On 7 May 2004, a major UN human rights report prepared by the UN Human Rights Commission accused Sudanese troops and militia in Darfur of committing war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>49</sup> The carefully worded UN report provoked what appears to be the Sudanese Government media's first public admission to its own people that the world suspected Sudan of genocide in Darfur. Throughout the summer and fall of 2004 the Sudanese domestic media vigorously responded to the mention of the word "genocide". Radio Sudan declared that any suggestion of genocide was simply Western propaganda reflecting Zionist influence and Western jealousy of Sudan's great wealth and rich culture.<sup>50</sup> The media enthusiastically quoted statements from officials of the African Union (AU) and the World Health Organization who said they saw no evidence of genocide in Darfur.<sup>51</sup> Sheik al-Karuri alleged on Sudan TV after Friday night prayers

<sup>44</sup> "Sudan thanks USA for supporting peace process," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1000gmt, 21 July 2005.

<sup>45</sup> Joel Brinkley, "Sudanese guard roughs up US aides and reporter as Rice visits," NY Times, 22 July 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> "Sudan: Friday sermon urges USA to de-link its policies from Jewish Lobby," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1035gmt, 15 July 2005.

<sup>49</sup> "Violations in Darfur, Sudan may constitute war crimes, crimes against humanity, UN Human Rights office report says," UN Press Release AFR/921 HR/4744, 7 May 2004. For the complete report, see UN Commission for Human Rights, "Report of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Situation of human rights in the Darfur region of the Sudan," 7 May 2004, 61<sup>st</sup> session, E/CN.4/2005/3, accessed on 6 August 2006 at: <http://www.unhchr.ch/pdf/chr60/ECN420053.doc>

<sup>50</sup> "Sudanese official says western quarters targeting Sudan because of its wealth," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 24 July 2004.

<sup>51</sup> "Sudanese, Chadian leaders meet in Ethiopia over Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 8 July 2004; "WHO regional boss denies occurrence of 'genocide'



that US Government sympathy for the Darfur rebels arose from American lust to gain control of Sudan's oil reserves in the region.<sup>52</sup> It was impossible for Sudan to commit genocide, the TV preacher declared in a leap of logic, since Khartoum possessed no nuclear weapons.<sup>53</sup>

On 30 July 2004, the UN Security Council waded into the fray, demanding in UNSC resolution 1556 that the Government of Sudan honour its commitments to disarm the Janjaweed militias and bring their members to justice.<sup>54</sup> The Security Council put some teeth into its resolution by endorsing the deployment of international monitors in Darfur.<sup>55</sup> The Government of Sudan responded domestically by condemning any notion of foreign involvement in Darfur. Prominent government figures spoke out on radio and TV to denounce the "Zionist attack" on Sudan.<sup>56</sup> Any foreign intervention in Darfur, they claimed, would be tantamount to the recolonization of the country.<sup>57</sup> On TV, a Muslim cleric blamed the usual suspect, Israel, insisting that the US called the tune for the UN and only acted because it wished to advance the interests of the "Zionist entity."<sup>58</sup> Sudan's Foreign Affairs minister found the thirty day implementation deadline for the disarmament of the Janjaweed difficult and illogical.<sup>59</sup>

The UN Security Council's demand on 18 September 2004 that Sudan fulfill its commitment to end the violence in Darfur and reach a comprehensive peace agreement with the groups seeking autonomy from Khartoum, embodied in Security Council resolution 1564,<sup>60</sup> evoked a by now familiar hostile response from Sudanese government leaders. This time Sheik al-Karuri set the tone on Sudan TV by accusing those behind the resolution of committing genocide by enlisting in the "Zionist project" and harming all Muslim nations as a result.<sup>61</sup> Al-Karuri accused the US of trumping up the charge of genocide just so it could intervene.<sup>62</sup> President al-Bashir declared that he had detected a

---

in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic 1600gmt, 20 August 2004.

<sup>52</sup> "Sudan: Friday preacher says USA making inroads into Darfur to enjoy its oil," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1030gmt, 20 August 2004.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 1556(2004): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5015<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 30 July 2004.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> "Sudanese TV and radio coverage of Darfur 1-2 August," BBC Monitoring, Source: BBC Monitoring Research, 2 August 2004; "Darfur urges mobilization against 'US-Zionist conspiracy,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 3 August 2004.

<sup>57</sup> "Sudan: Vice-President Taha says foreign intervention over Darfur 'dreams,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 9 August 2004.

<sup>58</sup> "Sudanese Friday preacher calls for a united front to defend nation," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1030gmt, 30 July 2004.

<sup>59</sup> "Sudan rejects UN resolution on Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 1 August 2004.

<sup>60</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 1564(2004): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5040<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 18 September 2004.

<sup>61</sup> "Sudanese Friday preacher says 'there is no genocide in Darfur,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1030gmt, 17 September 2004.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.



conspiracy between Zionists and Free Masons to stage a coup and undermine the security of the Sudanese people.<sup>63</sup> Sudan Radio news analysts reported charges in the National Assembly that Zionists supporting the Darfur rebels had deliberately stalled peace talks and were arming Darfur groups seeking autonomy.<sup>64</sup> The editors of the Sudan TV website floated the claim that Israel had agreed to transport American weapons and ammunition to set up a separate US-Israeli state in Western Sudan.<sup>65</sup>

On 31 March 2005, the frustrated members of the UN Security Council referred to the Office of the Prosecutor of the new International Criminal Court (ICC) at The Hague a sealed list of persons suspected of committing serious war crimes in Darfur.<sup>66</sup> Sudan TV immediately labeled the referral unjust. Radio Sudan reported that the Minister of Information, Abd-al-Basit Sabdarat, had declared that by virtue of the referral the Security Council was “killing the Rome Charter” which established the ICC.<sup>67</sup> Speaking on Sudan Radio, President al-Bashir termed the referral invalid and intended to serve Western and Zionist interests.<sup>68</sup> The National Congress Party pledged never to cooperate with the ICC and to block any attempt at Western intervention.<sup>69</sup> Following these declarations, Sudan Radio sought support for mass demonstrations backing the Government leaders’ position and condemning the UN Security Council. The Secretary-General of the Organization for the Defence of Faith and the Country slammed the referral as an attempt to discredit the sovereignty of Sudan.<sup>70</sup> A few days before the Security Council referred the accused war criminals to the ICC, the Minister of Foreign Affairs claimed on the web site of the Sudan Media Center that the call of the Israeli delegation for an investigation of slavery in Sudan at the meeting of the UN Commission on Human Rights confirmed Israel’s hidden role in aggravating the Darfur crisis and conspiring against Sudan.<sup>71</sup>

The ICC launched its Darfur investigation on 6 June 2005, but Sudan refused a visa to Luis Moreno-Ocampo, the ICC’s chief prosecutor.<sup>72</sup> Sudanese government

---

<sup>63</sup> “Sudanese president says ‘Zionism, Free Masons’ behind coup plot,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0700gmt, 26 September 2004.

<sup>64</sup> “Sudanese delegation says Western, Zionist influence clear at Darfur talks,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600 gmt, 18 September 2004.

<sup>65</sup> “US-Zionist plan to set up a Zaghawa state,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV website, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0001gmt, 10 November 2004.

<sup>66</sup> United Nations Security Council Resolution 1593(2005): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5158<sup>th</sup> meeting, on 31 March 2005.

<sup>67</sup> “Sudan calls for general mobilization against UN resolution in Darfur,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 2 April 2005.

<sup>68</sup> “Sudanese leader vows not to respect UN resolution on Darfur crimes,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1323gmt, 2 April 2005.

<sup>69</sup> “Sudan calls for general mobilization against UN resolution in Darfur,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 2 April 2005.

<sup>70</sup> “Sudan: ‘angry’ anti-UN demonstrations to be staged in capital,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 5 April 2005.

<sup>71</sup> “Sudanese minister says Darfur Rebels ‘benefiting from the Jewish campaign,’” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudanese Media Center web site, Khartoum, in Arabic, 27 March 2005.

<sup>72</sup> Chris Stephen, “Sudan Stalling Over War Crimes Inquiry, United Nations Told,” *The Scotsman*, 30 June 2005, accessed on 2 August 2006 at: <http://news.scotsman.com/international/cfm?id=718442005>. By 2006, the ICC had set up an office in Chad, just across the border from Darfur, to collect evidence from survivors



officials scrambled to mount their own war crimes process, attempting to prove that they could handle the situation without international intervention. Rather than “inappropriately” hand its accused nationals over to the ICC the Government of Sudan declared on its web site a few days later, it would try them before local courts. On 11 June Sudan TV reported the formation of a special Sudanese criminal court to deal with Darfur war crimes.<sup>73</sup> One hundred and sixty low-level suspects were accused of minor crimes before the court.<sup>74</sup> Sudan’s Justice Minister, Ali Muhammad Uthman Yasin, quickly declared that he considered the Sudanese court a substitute for the ICC’s investigation, which should now be aborted.<sup>75</sup> All references to the ICC disappeared from Sudanese radio and TV following the Justice Minister’s declaration.

From August 2005 until February 2006, negotiations between representatives of the Government of Sudan and the rebels were frequently delayed and constantly on the verge of stalling. The independent media outside of Sudan widely reported that the talks were in imminent danger of collapse.<sup>76</sup> Nevertheless, the domestic Government media in Sudan portrayed the talks for their home audience as progressing nicely, simultaneously disseminating exaggerated stories of rebel attacks on AU peacekeepers and Darfur civilians.<sup>77</sup> After many months of stalling by Sudanese representatives, the UN Security Council met to consider targeted sanctions against specific government officials. The Government media moved into high gear, echoing old themes and introducing new ones into its domestic broadcasts. Sudan Radio reported street demonstrations in Al-Fashir with demonstrators rejecting all forms of intervention.<sup>78</sup> Government of Sudan officials speaking on Sudan Radio and TV blasted any move towards the deployment of UN troops to Darfur, stressing that African Union troops had the situation in Darfur under

---

of Janjaweed and Sudanese government attacks. See Fritz Roy A. Sterling, “Sudan: ICC Reports Evidence of Large-Scale Massacres,” International Press Service News Agency, 15 June 2006, accessed on 1 August 2006 at: <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=33635>

<sup>73</sup> “Programme summary of Sudanese TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 11 June 2005.

<sup>74</sup> “Sudan’s Darfur crimes courts to hold first hearing,” 18 June,” BBC Monitoring, Source: AFP News Agency, Paris, in English, 16 June 2005.

<sup>75</sup> “Sudanese war crimes court reportedly questions its legal status- UN report,” BBC Monitoring, Source: UN Integrated Informational Network, Nairobi, in English, 24 June 2005.

<sup>76</sup> “Darfur: talks stalled by violence,” Reuters, 14 October 2005; “Darfur talks marred by fighting,” BBC, 1 February 2006, accessed on 6 August 2006 at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4671422.stm>; Joel Brinkley, “U.S. presses Sudan and rebels to reach Darfur peace pact,” NY Times, 4 May 2006.

<sup>77</sup> “Darfur rebels reportedly vandalize schools, health centres,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudanese Media Center website, in Arabic, 8 November 2005; “Sudan optimistic about the next round of Darfur peace talks,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, in Arabic, 9 November 2005; “Five AU soldiers wounded in Sudan’s Darfur region,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, in Arabic 2 December 2005; “Sudanese government, Darfur rebels discuss wealth sharing,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 13 December 2005; “Sudan: seven killed, twenty injured in rebel ambush in Western Darfur state,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1700gmt, 25 December 2005; “Sudan- UN agency says Darfur rebels attacked food convoy,” Al-Mashahir website, in Arabic, 9 February 2006.

<sup>78</sup> “Sudan: Darfur residents protest against calls for UN peacekeeping troops,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 17 January 2006.



control.<sup>79</sup> Sudanese officials characterized stationing UN troops in the region as “unacceptable,”<sup>80</sup> a violation of Sudan’s national sovereignty,<sup>81</sup> and as a step down the road to Sudan’s recolonization.<sup>82</sup> Sudanese TV played interviews with militant demonstrators proclaiming that they were ready to defend their country against UN troops regardless of the cost.<sup>83</sup>

In April 2006, the UN Security Council imposed targeted sanctions on four Sudanese nationals including two individuals with positions in the Sudanese government and two affiliated with Darfur rebel groups.<sup>84</sup> Calling the sanctions “regrettable,” Sudan Radio accused the Security Council of impeding the Darfur peace process.<sup>85</sup> It emphasized the capacity of Sudan’s judiciary and police to punish the malefactors already charged before the Sudanese tribunal without informing listeners of the specific charges against them. Sheik Karuri, Sudan TV’s Friday evening cleric, reacted to the sanctions by repeating his familiar litany of conspiracies against Sudan, charging that those who welcomed the U.S. initiative at the Security Council were those people who also welcomed recolonization of Sudan and U.S. policies which only benefited “the Zionist entity.”<sup>86</sup>

## **5. KEY THEMES IN GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN DOMESTIC BROADCASTS AND WEB MEDIA**

---

<sup>79</sup> “Sudan leader stresses need for AU intervention in Darfur,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 15 January 2006; “Programme Summary of Sudanese TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 4 March 2006; “Sudanese president says AU troops ‘capable of handling Darfur issue,’” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0855gmt, 28 March 2006.

<sup>80</sup> “Sudan: intervention by UN forces in Darfur ‘unacceptable’ - governor,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 25 February 2006

<sup>81</sup> “Sudanese political organizations reject foreign intervention,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 4 March 2006; “Sudanese president praises ‘open-hearted dialogue’ at summit,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0800gmt, 29 March 2006; “Sudan opposed to foreign ‘interference’ over Darfur crisis, says vp,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 25 May 2006.

<sup>82</sup> “Sudanese political organizations reject foreign intervention,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 4 March 2006; “President al-Bashir says Sudan will not be ‘recolonized,’” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in English, 20 June 2006.

<sup>83</sup> “Programme summary of Sudanese TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 6 March 2006; “Programme Summary of Sudanese TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 8 March 2006.

<sup>84</sup> The UN placed restrictions on the assets and international travel of Major General Gaffar Mohamed Elhassan, the commander of the Western Military region for the Sudanese Air force; Adam Yacub Shant, the commander of the Sudanese Liberation Army (a rebel group); Gabril Abdul Kareem Badri, the field commander of the National Movement for Reform (another rebel group); and Sheikh Musa Hilal, the Paramount Chief of the Jalul Tribe in North Darfur, (a top Janjaweed commander). See “Darfur: UN Council imposes sanctions on four individuals, urges peace accord,” UN News Center, 25 April 2006, accessed on 18 July 2006 at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=18247&Cr=Sudan&Cr1>

<sup>85</sup> “Sudan says UN resolutions on sanctions ‘regrettable,’” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1300gmt, 26 April 2006.

<sup>86</sup> “Sudanese cleric against UN troops in Darfur; predicts fall of USA over Iraq war,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1030gmt, 26 May 2006.



The Government of Sudan has insisted that it will do everything possible to prevent the deployment of a UN peacekeeping force in Darfur with President al-Bashir totally rejecting UN forces and declaring that “he would prefer to be a leader for the resistance in Darfur rather than being a President of an occupied country.”<sup>87</sup> For al-Bashir acceptance of UN forces would lead Sudan into “a tunnel of international hegemony, imposition of guardianship on it, violation of its national sovereignty and regional position, and confiscation of its national political will.”<sup>88</sup> The narrative under development by President al-Bashir prophesies the destruction of Sudan as a state resulting from a Zionist-inspired, Western-backed conspiracy unless all Sudanese steadfastly unite to oppose the presence of UN troops in Darfur. His explanation for Sudan’s problems in Darfur is simple: the Zionist, Western, anti-Islamic conspiracy is at work. Seven connected themes converge clearly in Sudan’s Government-sponsored and coordinated broadcast and web media.

*1) Sudan is a sovereign nation and UN involvement constitutes meddling in Sudan's internal affairs, eroding Sudan's sovereignty*

Taking the position that the Darfur crisis is purely an internal matter, on 29 September 2004 the Government of Sudan refuted the right of any international organization—for example, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees—to talk about greater autonomy for Darfur.<sup>89</sup> The Sudanese Government regularly arranges carefully staged, “angry” street demonstrations, denunciations by civil organizations, and pronouncements by Sufi leaders to demonize United Nations attention to the plight of Darfur’s residents.<sup>90</sup>

*2) The Government of Sudan has the Darfur situation under control and does not need foreign help. It is dedicated to the peace process and progress is being made towards economic and social development in Darfur.*

The Government of Sudan emphasizes any evidence it can create that its policies in Darfur are humanitarian, successful, and have the situation under control. Under pressure to accept UN troops, Sudan launched an anti-measles campaign, triumphantly trumpeted on Sudan TV as if the belated immunization of children driven into refugee camps with their families, confronted with dehydration, malnutrition, and threatened rape if they search the countryside for fire wood, will somehow compensate for the deaths of some

---

<sup>87</sup> “President al-Bashir Affirms Rejection of UN Forces in Darfur”, 29 June 2006, Sudan News Agency dispatch, accessed on the web on 30 June 2006 at:  
<http://www.SUNA-sd.net/DetailsE.asp?id=301621>

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> “UNHCR chief has no authority to talk about Darfur autonomy- Sudanese official,” BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA website, in Arabic, 29 September 2004.

<sup>90</sup> “Sudan: ‘Angry’ anti-UN demonstration to be staged in capital,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 5 April 2005; “Sudanese political organizations reject foreign intervention,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 4 March 2006; “Programme Summary of Sudanese TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 16 March 2006.

270,000 Darfurians, most of them children and elderly persons.<sup>91</sup> Sudanese TV news frequently reports plans for new development projects in Darfur and the voluntary return of some internally displaced persons (IDPs) to their homes,<sup>92</sup> ignoring the destruction by the Government-sponsored Janjaweed and Sudanese military aircraft of 75 percent of the villages in Darfur and the massive creation of more IDPs.<sup>93</sup>

President al-Bashir predicted the prosecution of war criminals by the Sudanese courts in fair and public trials in stories posted on the Sudan News Agency website in Arabic and English, while until now no senior Sudanese official connected to the Janjaweed assault on innocent civilians has been brought before the bar of justice in those courts.<sup>94</sup> Rather, Mawlana Mahmud Abkam, the chairman of the special criminal court for the Darfur states, has announced, contrary to the testimony of hundreds of rape victims, that in Al-Fashir and Nyala “there were no testimonies which indicated that rape was the result of a planned and systematic group act.”<sup>95</sup> He complains, according to the Sudan News Agency, that none of the rape victims interviewed by the Western media “had filed a suit with any legal authority so that it could make a judgment or carry out the necessary investigations” as if he expected the women to trust courts created by the same government which unleashed the Janjaweed’s campaign of terror and ethnic cleansing in the first place.<sup>96</sup> Typifying the minimalist approach of the Sudanese government to prosecuting war criminals for their actions in Darfur was the conviction and sentencing to

---

<sup>91</sup> “Programme summary of Sudan TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 24 June 2006; Eric Reeves, “Quantifying Genocide In Darfur: May 13, 2006 (Part 2),” accessed on 7 August 2006 at: <http://www.sudanreeves.org/index.php?name=News&file=article&sid=104>

<sup>92</sup> “Programme summary of Sudan TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 11 June 2006; “Programme summary of Sudan TV news,” BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 13 June 2006.

<sup>93</sup> “Approximately 75 percent of all villages in Darfur were burned by February 2005, leaving precious little remaining to destroy; many experts believe this is the reason that large-scale violence subsided in early summer 2005 and not from any change in policy or sudden government beneficence or, in fact, AU intervention.” See William G. O’Neill and Violette Cassis, “Protecting Two Million Internally Displaced: The Successes and Shortcomings of the African Union in Darfur,” Occasional Paper, Brookings Institution—University of Bern Project on Internal Displacement, November 2005, 18, accessed on 7 August 2006 at: [http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/idp/200511\\_au\\_darfur.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/idp/200511_au_darfur.pdf)

<sup>94</sup> “Al-Bashir says no citizen will be tried outside Sudan,” BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA website, in English, 3 April 2005; “Sudanese president reiterates ‘solemn pledge’ not to hand over Darfur suspects,” BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA website, in Arabic, 27 April 2005. The International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur recommended to the United Nations that the Sudanese Special Courts for Darfur should be closed down declaring: “The fact that the Specialised Courts apply principally to the Darfurs and Kordovan, rather than to the whole of the Sudan, calls into question the credibility and reliability of these Courts. The purpose of the courts is too glaring to miss. The Government would do a great service to its judicial system if it took steps to repeal the decree that established the Courts. The Commission recommends that the Government ensure the closure of the Courts.” See International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur, “Report of the International Commission of Inquiry on Darfur to the United Nations Secretary-General,” 25 January 2005, Geneva, 110-115.

<sup>95</sup> “Sudan: Darfur rapes not ‘planned, systematic’, judge says,” 24 October 2005, BBC Monitoring Service, SUNA News Agency website, Khartoum, in Arabic.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.



death by the special court of two hapless Sudanese regular soldiers on 16 November 2005 for beating to death a man whom they mistook as a member of a rebel group.<sup>97</sup>

Controlling and coordinating the domestic media as tightly as it does, the Government of Sudan can dissemble at home with impunity. It boasted of progress in providing security and badly needed provisions for the Darfur refugee camps in June 2006 after refusing Norwegian UN Humanitarian Coordinator Jan Egeland entry to the Darfur region only two months earlier.<sup>98</sup> The Government justified its action on the preposterous basis that it feared for his safety due to the publication of cartoons offensive to many Muslims which appeared in the Danish press as if Darfurians followed the world media over coffee and croissants every morning and waxed indignant over Egeland's heinous Scandinavianess.<sup>99</sup>

*3) Foreign pressure on Sudan amounts to a hostile attack on the nation and a new form of recolonization.*

Sudanese government leaders constantly reiterate the theme that UN intervention in Darfur with the stationing of UN troops in the western provinces would constitute a new form of colonization. Claiming that Sudan welcomes the presence of a small African Union force to monitor developments in Darfur, Sudan rejects the stationing of UN troops despite the clear insufficiency of the present African Union force.<sup>100</sup> Sudanese Muslim cleric Al-Karuri has even accused South African president Thabo Mbeki, a veteran fighter against apartheid, of advocating the fresh colonization of Sudan for asking Sudan to permit the stationing of UN troops in Darfur.<sup>101</sup> Pursuing this theme, President al-Bashir projects himself onto the wider screen of History, declaring that Sudan will not be the first nation to be recolonized.<sup>102</sup>

A bizarre facet of the Government of Sudan's campaign to mobilize public opinion against introducing a UN force to Darfur and its insistence that such a force would mean the "recolonization" of Sudan is that in March 2005 the Government accepted the UN plan to station 10,000 UN troops in southern Sudan to monitor compliance with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.<sup>103</sup> Even stranger is the fact that

---

<sup>97</sup> "Sudanese court sentences two soldiers to death for Darfur war crime," BBC Monitoring, Al-Mashahir (Almshaheer) website, Khartoum, in Arabic, 17 November 2005.

<sup>98</sup> "Programme Summary of Sudan TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 13 June 2006; "Programme Summary of Sudan TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 25 June 2006; "Sudan 'blocks' UN trip to Darfur," BBC NEWS, 3 April 2006, accessed on 19 July 2006 at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-/2/hi/africa/4870954.stm>

<sup>99</sup> Marc Lacey, "Sudan blocks visit of U.N. official to Darfur," NY Times, 3 April 2006, accessed on 7 August 2006 at: <http://www.sudan.net/news/posted/12726.html>

<sup>100</sup> "Sudan condemns UN's 'insistence' to deploy military mission in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 15 June 2006.

<sup>101</sup> "Sudanese cleric hails Somali Islamic courts' victory in Mogadishu," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 16 June 2006.

<sup>102</sup> "President al-Bashir says Sudan will not be 'recolonized,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA, in English, 20 June 2006.

<sup>103</sup> As of 30 April 2006, the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMIS) force contained 9,265 uniformed personnel, including 8,034 troops, 635 military observers, and 596 police supported by 671 international

Sudan Radio has never broadcast a word recognizing the existence of this UN military force, while Sudanese TV regularly refers to the UN troops in the South without any apparent malice.<sup>104</sup> Such dual channeling of vital information is a perfect illustration of the Government's practice of entrusting information to the domestic elite audience with access to Sudan TV and government websites, while keeping radio listeners, the majority of Sudanese, in the dark.

*4) United Nations interest in the Darfur crisis serves a Western-Zionist agenda, is part of foreign conspiracies directed against Sudan, and is not motivated by genuine humanitarian concerns.*

Sudanese officials perceive the international campaign over Darfur as a Zionist assault on Sudan. Mirroring the anti-Israeli views of many of Sudan's leading personalities, today's official Sudanese media blames Israel, the West, and the Free Masons for provoking foreign protests against the fate of civilians in Darfur.<sup>105</sup> The official Sudanese media identify Israel and the American "Jewish lobby" as Sudan's special nemeses. Typical were the claims of the governor of North Darfur in July 2004 that Zionists were leading an extensive campaign against Sudan regarding the Darfur issue and the statement by Sudan's Interior Minister that the Zionist lobby was leading a misinformation campaign against Sudan.<sup>106</sup> When peace talks between Sudanese Government representatives and Darfur rebel groups stalled in September 2004, Radio Sudan reported the allegation of the Speaker of the National Assembly that Zionist and American pressure were responsible.<sup>107</sup> In November 2004, Sudan TV reported on its website that the US and Israel planned to establish a separate state in western Sudan called Zaghawa.<sup>108</sup> It further reported that this area contained a stockpile of U.S. ammunition and weapons transported by Israeli aircraft and personnel.<sup>109</sup>

The long and complex history of Sudan's animus towards Israel sheds light on the ebbs and flows of Islamist fundamentalism as an influential factor in the politics of Sudan. Sudan's declaration of war on Israel during the Arab-Israel war of June 1967

---

civilian personnel, 1,242 local civilian and 99 United Nations Volunteers. "Sudan – UNMIS – Facts and Figures," United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations website, accessed on 4 August 2006 at: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/missions/unmis/facts.html>

<sup>104</sup> UNMIS was created on 24 March 2005 by Security Council Resolution 1590. Sudan TV reported on 28 March that the Sudanese Defence Minister had briefed the Cabinet on the UN resolution. On 21 April 2005 the Sudanese News Agency website announced the formation of a government body to coordinate with the UN mission in the South.

<sup>105</sup> "Sudan: official claims war in Darfur 'US-Zionist' plot to fan conflict," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Ra'y al-Amm website, 29 April 2003; "Sudanese president says 'Zionism, Free Masons' behind coup plot," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 26 September 2004.

<sup>106</sup> "Programme summary Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 1 July 2004; "Sudanese interior minister accuses Eritrea of being behind Darfur crisis," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudanese TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 19 July 2004.

<sup>107</sup> "Sudanese delegation says Western, Zionist influence clear at Darfur talks," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 18 September 2004.

<sup>108</sup> "US-Zionist plan to set up a Zaghawa state," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV's official website, 10 November 2004.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.



encouraged Israel to supply arms to southern Sudanese rebels via Ethiopia and Uganda starting in 1969.<sup>110</sup> Although Sudan had no diplomatic relations with Israel in the 1980s, in 1984, responding to American pressure, the Sudanese Government of President Gaafar al-Nimeiri secretly cooperated with Israel in the airlifting of some 10,000 Ethiopian Jews from Sudan to Israel in Operation Moses.<sup>111</sup> Nimeiri was overthrown the following year and in June 1989, the National Islamic Front seized power in a coup spearheaded by Gen. Omer al-Bashir, who had served as an Egyptian soldier in the October 1973 Middle East war.<sup>112</sup> One way that al-Bashir's new government signaled its Islamist identity was to offer "residency to any Arab or Muslim."<sup>113</sup> Among those attracted by this offer to reside in Sudan were both the man believed to have masterminded the 1983 bombing of the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut and none other than "Carlos the Jackal."<sup>114</sup> In 1991, after his expulsion from Saudi Arabia, Osama bin Laden also established his main base in Khartoum. There he forged close links with Hassan al-Turabi, then the Speaker of Sudan's House of Representatives and the head of the National Islamic Front.<sup>115</sup> An enthusiastic Islamist, President al-Bashir sympathized strongly with the Palestinian cause.<sup>116</sup> But he still coveted good relations with Washington.

In 1996 President al-Bashir expelled bin Laden from Sudan after terrorist death threats against American diplomatic personnel led the U.S. to close its embassy in Khartoum.<sup>117</sup> Two years later, on 7 August 1998, al-Qaeda operatives blew up the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam and U.S.-Sudan relations hit their nadir.<sup>118</sup> The Clinton Administration retaliated for these attacks on 21 August, firing cruise missiles

---

<sup>110</sup> "Sudan People's Liberation Army," Federation of American Scientists Intelligence Resource Program, accessed 16 June 2006 at: <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/spla.htm>

<sup>111</sup> In June 1985, after Nimeiri was overthrown in a coup, Sudan's First Vice President, Omar Mohammed el-Tayeb, was placed on trial by the makers of the coup for his alleged role in this airlift and charged with accepting \$2 million from the CIA, a sum purportedly received from Jewish organizations. In 1986, el-Tayeb was sentenced to two consecutive 30-year jail terms for his role in the operation. See Sheila Rule, "Ex-Sudan Aide Gets 2 Jail Terms for Role in Ethiopian Airlift," NY Times, 6 April 1986.

<sup>112</sup> Frontline, "Hunting Bin Laden," PBS, accessed on 19 July 2006 at: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/who/alqaeda.html>; "Omar al-Bashir," New Internationalist, October 2001, accessed on 19 July 2006 at: [http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Zeroes/Omar\\_al-Bashir.html](http://www.thirdworldtraveler.com/Zeroes/Omar_al-Bashir.html)

<sup>113</sup> Emily Wax, "Sudan's Unbowed, Unbroken Inner Circle: Tight Web of Savvy Leaders Withstands International Criticism," Washington Post, 3 May 2005, accessed on 25 July 2006 at: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/02/AR2005050201451\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/02/AR2005050201451_pf.html)

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> David Blair, "Man who harbored Bin Laden is lodestar for terrorists," The Telegraph, 30 January 2006, accessed on 1 August 2006 at: <http://telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml?xml=/news/2006/01/30/wturab30.xml&sSheet=/news/2006/01/30/ixworld.html>

<sup>116</sup> "Mubarak, Bashir discuss significant issues," Arabic News, 14 May 2001, accessed on 3 August 2006 at: <http://www.arabicnews.com/ansub/Daily/Day/010514/2001051446.html>

<sup>117</sup> Emily Wax, "Sudan's Unbowed, Unbroken Inner Circle: Tight Web of Savvy Leaders Withstands International Criticism," Washington Post, 3 May 2005, accessed on 25 July 2006 at: [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/02/AR2005050201451\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/05/02/AR2005050201451_pf.html)

<sup>118</sup> James Risen, "Sudan, Angry at U.S. attack, freed bomb suspects, officials say," NY Times, 30 July 1999, accessed on 25 July 2006 at: <http://www.library.cornell.edu/colldev/mideast/sudsus.htm>; Michael Grunwald and Vernon Loeb, "Charges Filed Against Bin Laden," Washington Post, 5 November 1998, A17.

against a factory in Khartoum alleged to be manufacturing nerve gas components for use by bin Laden<sup>119</sup>. When the U.S. invaded Afghanistan after bin Laden's teams destroyed the World Trade Center in 2001, demonstrators in Khartoum rallied to claim that the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan served Zionist interests<sup>120</sup> and Sudanese Islamic leaders like Hassan al-Turabi proclaimed the innocence of bin Laden.<sup>121</sup>

*5) The people of Sudan are opposed to UN intervention in their region and the solution to its problems lie in the hands of Darfur's people, who oppose foreign interference. Sudan will resist by force if necessary any efforts to station UN troops in Darfur.*

In August 2004, as widely reported in the Sudanese domestic media, President al-Bashir and his allies mobilized backing from political, civil, and Islamic organizations, governors of states, distinguished Sufi leaders, and youth and student unions across Sudan to stage a show of strength in opposition to UN troops in Darfur.<sup>122</sup> The Government of Sudan mobilized tens of thousands of demonstrators in Khartoum's Martyrs Square on 4 August 2004 to denounce the UN resolution on Darfur and condemn "all manner of interference in the country's affairs." Demonstrators were brought out by announcements of the government-backed rally the day before on Sudan TV and Sudan Radio which featured Sudanese leaders calling on all Sudanese to join the protests and interviews with politicians and community leaders who charged that the West was trying to harm Sudan. "In a spirit and power of faith, the masses of Khartoum state . . . raised their voices high in rejecting the US-British threats against Sudan," Radio Sudan's Khartoum correspondent exulted.<sup>123</sup>

In September 2004, with international pressure mounting for Sudan to accept the stationing of foreign monitors in Darfur, the domestic government media shifted their line to emphasize that the Darfurians themselves rejected UN forces. On 18 September, Ahmad Ibrahim al-Tahir, the Speaker of the National Assembly, declared that the solution to the Darfur problem lay in the hands of the people of Darfur.<sup>124</sup> President al-Bashir reiterated this point on 13 November 2005.<sup>125</sup> Early in 2006, Sudanese

---

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> "Sudan: Anti-American demo staged in Khartoum," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA website, in English, 8 October 2001.

<sup>121</sup> For Turabi's view that bin Laden "is a friend who has not transgressed against anyone in the first place, neither by making a statement nor by a leaflet . . . it was the Western media that built a monument for him as the person who struggled against the West and against imperialistic hegemony and was followed by some people who had emotion," see Sudan Tribune, 4 November 2005, accessed on 25 July 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id\\_article=12393](http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id_article=12393)

<sup>122</sup> "'Massive' demo plan on August 4 to support Sudan's Darfur stand," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 3 August 2004.

<sup>123</sup> BBC News, "Sudanese media rally public," 5 August 2005.

<sup>124</sup> "Sudanese delegation says Western, Zionist influence clear at Darfur talks," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 18 September 2004.

<sup>125</sup> "Certain foreign circles fanning war in Darfur-Sudanese President," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA, in English, 13 November 2005.



government leaders launched a campaign to build support for President al-Bashir's theme.<sup>126</sup>

In March 2006, Sudanese leaders ratcheted up the intensity of their campaign against the use of UN troops bringing it to English speakers in southern Sudan and to TV viewers. An English language story in the Juba Post on 2 March reported Minister of Defense al-Rahim Muhammad Hasayn's boast that the army was willing to fight UN intervention and to "sacrifice our souls for the nation" to ensure that Sudan did not become another Iraq.<sup>127</sup> And on 8 March, Sudan TV featured a demonstration organized by the People's Authority for Defending Faith and Homeland and the demonstrators' message that they were ready to defend the nation whatever the cost.<sup>128</sup>

*6) The African Union is fully capable of fulfilling its responsibilities in the Darfur region without UN reinforcements and those who belittle the African Union's abilities do so from anti-African motives.*

After emphasizing for many years that it was fully capable of handling the Darfur situation and protecting its people, Sudan came increasingly under pressure by the UN Security Council to accept an African Union monitoring force in Darfur. At the outset, Sudan's government danced frenetically around the role that an African Union force might play in Darfur. In April 2004, it agreed in a signed ceasefire agreement with rebel groups in Darfur to allow African Union military observers to monitor and report on the implementation of the ceasefire and in June President al-Bashir stated on Sudan TV that the AU had a place in the Darfur process.<sup>129</sup> Near the end of July, after nothing had changed on the ground, the European Union threatened to take "appropriate further steps" if Sudan did not act to end the fighting, precipitating a declaration from Foreign Minister Mustafa Osman Isma'il that Sudan would fight foreign troops if they invaded Sudan.<sup>130</sup> Finally, at the beginning of August, the Sudanese News Agency reported in English, but not in Arabic, that the Secretary General of the ruling National Congress Party recognized the important role that the AU might play in resolving outstanding issues in

---

<sup>126</sup> "Sudanese political organizations reject foreign intervention," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 4 March 2006; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 6 March 2006; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 14 March 2006; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 16 March 2006; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1900gmt, 7 April 2006; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 4 July 2006.

<sup>127</sup> "Sudan ready to fight UN intervention, minister says," BBC Monitoring, Source: Juba Post, in English, 2 March 2006.

<sup>128</sup> "Sudanese civil society groups organize anti-UN demos in Khartoum," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in English, 1500gmt, 8 March 2006.

<sup>129</sup> "Empty Promises? Continuing Abuses in Darfur, Sudan," Human Rights Watch briefing report, 11 August 2004, accessed on 24 July 2006 at: <http://hrw.org/backgrounder/africa/sudan/2004/sudan0804.pdf>

<sup>130</sup> "Sudan 'will fight foreign troops,'" CNN, 27 July 2004, accessed on 24 July 2006 at: <http://edition.cnn.com/2004/WORLD/africa/07/27/sudan.main/>

Darfur.<sup>131</sup> The Government of Sudan, according to BBC News, agreed to cooperate with the African Union even though there was no formal agreement on a peacekeeping force.<sup>132</sup> None of these assurances that Sudan recognized a role for the AU were announced on Sudan Radio, but limited instead to Sudan TV and one English language press release from the Sudan News Agency.

Understanding that it would take a large force to monitor the ceasefire in Darfur, the AU prepared to deploy a startup brigade of 2,000 troops, but Foreign Minister Ismail swiftly denounced this move. "The security of Darfur," he asserted, "is the responsibility of Darfur alone."<sup>133</sup> Ismail would permit only 300 AU troops whose mission would be limited solely to protecting the ceasefire monitors, he said on 9 August 2004.<sup>134</sup> Sudanese listeners to Radio Sudan heard Sudanese Ambassador Uthman al-Sayyid insist that there was no agreement among the Government of Sudan, the African Union, and the UN to transform the African Union troops into peacekeepers, that maintaining security remained the responsibility of the Government, and that the African Union would only be allowed to deploy 300 troops, rather than the 2,000 the AU expected.<sup>135</sup>

Just a week before the 30 August 2004 deadline set by the UN Security Council for the Sudanese government to face sanctions unless it started protecting civilians and disarmed its forces, Sudanese official and chief negotiator Majzoub al-Khalifa Ahman had rejected Nigerian President and African Union Chairman Olusegun Obasanjo's call for 2,000 AU troops to enter Darfur. Al-Khalifa Ahmad insisted that the government would itself carry out the disarmament of its Janjaweed militias and the rebel groups: "The security role is the role of the government of Sudan and its security forces," he declared, concluding: "If there's a need, it will be discussed."<sup>136</sup> The Sudanese chief negotiator's statement provoked Abubakar Hamid Nour, coordinator for the rebel group Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), to explode: "There is no way we can let our enemies disarm us. They are still killing us and bombing us."<sup>137</sup> On 26 October 2004, Sudan Radio finally reported that the National Assembly approved expanding the number of AU troops in Darfur to 3,200.<sup>138</sup> Foreign Minister Isma'il declared that the African Union would be in charge of observing a cease-fire, identifying violations, building trust between the conflicting parties, monitoring the flow of humanitarian aid to the affected people, creating a suitable atmosphere for cessation of hostilities and opening up

---

<sup>131</sup> "Sudanese official says African Union capable of solving Darfur conflict," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA, in English, 2 August 2004.

<sup>132</sup> "UN says Sudan agrees to Darfur steps," BBC, 5 August 2004, accessed on 24 July 2006 at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3540366.stm>

<sup>133</sup> "Sudan rejects AU peace force," BBC News, 9 August 2004, accessed on 24 July 2006 at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/3549208.stm>

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> "Sudan radio reports state rejection of deployment African peacekeepers in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0420gmt, 9 August 2004.

<sup>136</sup> "Sudan rejects peacekeepers during Darfur talks," PBS Online News Hour, 23 August 2004, accessed on 26 July 2006 at: [http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/sudan\\_08-23-04.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/updates/sudan_08-23-04.html)

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> "Sudanese parliament approves expansion of AU troops in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1500gmt, 16 October 2004.



opportunities for development.<sup>139</sup> He insisted that the government and the AU rejected the participation of any special foreign police force in Darfur.<sup>140</sup> The government also refused offers of US and Australian aircraft, except through the African Union.<sup>141</sup> He reiterated that only the Government of Sudan was capable of bringing peace and stability in Darfur.<sup>142</sup>

The attitude of the Government of Sudan towards its African Union shield has been ambivalent from the start. As early as October 2004, Sudanese government leaders had begun to insinuate that stationing more AU troops in Darfur could lead to a major AIDS epidemic in Sudan. Some members of Sudan's Parliament expressed the fear that "such large troops [sic] could affect the behavior of inhabitants living in small villages, consequently spreading diseases."<sup>143</sup> On 7 September 2005, Minister of Health Ahmed Bilal Osman seized on the deaths from AIDS of two AU peacekeepers to announce that his Government would refuse residence permits to any resident foreigner, including members of the AU forces who tested positive for AIDS.<sup>144</sup> That same day, the Health Minister proclaimed that all AU and UN troops must undergo further tests for AIDS with deportation following for those who tested positive.<sup>145</sup> As late as January 2006, the Government of Sudan charged AU troops with smuggling into Darfur "bombs, ammunition and explosives" and alleged that they were 'spreading AIDS'.<sup>146</sup>

Confronted by mounting pressure from the Security Council to accept the stationing of a robust and well equipped UN force in Darfur, the Government of Sudan has ultimately grown to appreciate the political value of welcoming underequipped and understaffed AU soldiers. It has gradually converted the African Union's observer mission into a thick shield with which to fend off proposals that the UN dispatch troops to Darfur and to defend itself against United States charges of genocide in Darfur.<sup>147</sup> Only the African Union could make an objective determination of whether or not genocide was taking place, the Foreign Ministry declared in Arabic on the SUNA website in February 2006.<sup>148</sup> The Sudanese Cabinet swiftly affirmed its confidence in the African

---

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> "Sudanese MPs say more AU forces in Darfur 'could spread diseases to villages,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Khartoum, Khartoum, in Arabic, 2 October 2004.

<sup>144</sup> "Sudan orders fresh AIDS tests for peacekeepers, issues 'behavioral code,'" Sudan Tribune, 7 September 2005, accessed on 24 July 2006 at:

[http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=11527](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=11527)

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.; "Sudan to detect HIV/AIDS among resident foreigners," Sudan Tribune, 7 September 2005, accessed on 24 July 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=11523](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=11523); "Sudan: In the Driving Seat," Africa Confidential, 46, 20 (7 October 2005): 2.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.; "Sudan seizes UN containers containing 'bombs, ammunition,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Khartoum, Khartoum, 17 January 2006.

<sup>147</sup> The African Union soldiers also lacked "money, aircraft and signals technology." See "Sudan: 'Beyond that now,'" Africa Confidential, 47, 2 (20 January 2006): 5.

<sup>148</sup> "Sudan terms 'totally untrue' US claims of genocide in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source, SUNA, in Arabic, 18 February 2006.

Union's ability to maintain peace and stability in Darfur.<sup>149</sup> Praising the AU's ability to handle the Darfur situation in March, President al-Bashir declared on Sudan TV that the AU was capable and had the necessary experience to do the job.<sup>150</sup> In June, Radio Sudan reported to its wider audience the Ministry of Foreign Affairs claim that proposals to transfer the AU mission to the UN belittled the AU's capability and the ability of Africans to resolve their own problems.<sup>151</sup>

From the perspective of August 2006, Sudanese officials seem ready to abandon their cozy relationship with the African Union if it acts without regard for Sudan's wishes. In June, when AU leaders endorsed Security Council calls for the stationing of UN reinforcements in Darfur, Sudan's Foreign Ministry lashed out, charging via Sudan Radio that the AU had no right to invite UN troops to join AU forces in Sudan.<sup>152</sup> If the AU was unable to do the job, the Foreign Ministry affirmed, the Government of Sudan could look elsewhere and exercise its exclusive right to invite another regional or international power to assist in Darfur.<sup>153</sup> Paying heed to this threat, Sudan TV broadcast a rare statement in English by the African Union commission chairman on 21 June 2006 offering his opinion that his mission could not be converted into a UN mission without the permission of the Government of Sudan.<sup>154</sup>

*7) International attention to the Darfur crisis strengthens the bargaining position of the rebel groups and makes unlikely a lasting peace in the region*

Finally, Sudanese officials consistently argued in the first half of 2006 that the introduction of sanctions and the insertion of a UN peacekeeping force would only invigorate the Darfur rebels and encourage more groups of Sudanese armed dissidents to take a hostile stance in the future. Imposing sanctions, Sudan's Foreign Minister declared on 29 January 2006, would obstruct the implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) for southern Sudan and send the wrong message to negotiators at the ongoing Darfur peace talks in Nigeria's federal capital, Abuja.<sup>155</sup> On 20 February 2006, Sudan Radio reiterated Sudanese objections to a UN peacekeeping force.<sup>156</sup> It reported Sudanese civil society organizations telling members of a visiting U.S. congressional delegation that foreign intervention would only make matters worse.<sup>157</sup> After the U.S. Congress disregarded this advice and passed a resolution condemning Sudan's Darfur

---

<sup>149</sup> "Sudanese cabinet rejects foreign intervention in troubled Darfur region," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA, in Arabic, 26 February 2006.

<sup>150</sup> "Sudanese president says AU troops 'capable' of handling Darfur issue," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 28 March 2006.

<sup>151</sup> "Sudan condemns UN's 'insistence' to deploy military mission in Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 15 June 2006.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> "AU chief says mandate in Darfur remains unchanged," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in English, 21 June 2006.

<sup>155</sup> "Sudanese foreign minister warns sanctions to threaten peace agreement," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Khartoum, in Arabic, 29 January 2006.

<sup>156</sup> "Sudan reiterates objection to UN peacekeeping force," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 20 February 2006.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.



policies, a representative of Sudan's Foreign Ministry warned on 7 April 2006 that further sanctions against the perpetrators of crime in Darfur would only hinder efforts to achieve a political solution in the Abuja negotiations.<sup>158</sup>

## **6. HOW THE MEDIA PREPARES THE POPULATION FOR CHANGES IN POLICY: THE SOUTHERN SUDAN COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT IN SUDAN'S MEDIA AND THE DARFUR PEACE AGREEMENT**

The premise of this chapter is that the nature and tone of Sudan's government radio and TV coverage—that which is broadcast and that which is not—provide a reliable advance indicator of the Government of Sudan's intentions for wealth sharing, political power sharing, and security arrangements in Darfur. But do we know that Sudan's Government conforms to Alexander George's theories and utilizes its media to prepare Sudan's population for changes in government policy? For a preliminary answer to that question, we can employ two events as controls—the preliminary wealth sharing agreement of 31 December 2003 and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for southern Sudan of 9 January 2005, and examine their treatment by the Government of Sudan's media before, during, and after they were negotiated. A third purpose of this chapter is to show that Sudan's strategy for dealing with the wealth sharing agreement and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement with the South confirms that George's theories apply to the behavior of the Government of Sudan and can profitably be applied to decoding the Government's intentions in the case of Darfur.

The Government of Sudan media were apparently given very little notice before the signing of the first agreement. The negotiations prior to December 2003 were characterised by the South African Institute for Security Studies as "secretive, elite driven, [and] narrowly focused".<sup>159</sup> Government broadcast media virtually ignored the peace talks with the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) until December 2003, just before the signing of the first wealth sharing agreement in January. On 11 and 17 December 2003, Sudan Radio for the first time announced that the southern rebels and the Government of Sudan soon were expected to sign a partial agreement on sharing wealth derived from national resources and that progress was being made on power sharing.<sup>160</sup> Evidently, the Government was unsure of itself and could not agree on what direction to spin the news of the negotiations. Serious internal divisions over tactics and

---

<sup>158</sup> "Sudan slams US Congress resolution on Darfur," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Watan, in Arabic, 7 April 2006.

<sup>159</sup> Institute for Security Studies (Pretoria, South Africa), "The Sudan IGAD Process: Signposts for the Way Forward," African Security Analysis Programme, Forthcoming Occasional Paper, 13 February 2004, p. 7. Accessed on 29 July 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/IGAD\\_peace\\_process20040213.pdf](http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/IGAD_peace_process20040213.pdf) Published as ISS Paper No. 86 (March 2004) without pagination at: <http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/papers/86/Paper86.htm>

<sup>160</sup> "Sudanese radio reports progress at peace talks in Kenya," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 0400gmt, 11 December 2003; "Sudanese government, rebels expect to sign partial accord on resources," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 17 December 2003.

strategy, and factional power struggles within the National Islamic Front certainly contributed to that uncertainty.<sup>161</sup>

Without a clear consensus on wealth or power sharing among its members, Sudan's ruling political elite dropped stories about those key topics from Government-owned broadcast outlets from 5 January 2004 until 17 December 2004, when Sudan Radio announced that a high level Government delegation was discussing the transfer of oil revenues and the setting up of branches of the central bank in the south.<sup>162</sup> The policy log jam had been broken.

Four days later, on 21 December 2004, Sudan Radio trumpeted the signing of an agreement on power sharing between SPLA President John Garang and Sudanese Vice-President Taha. Announcing generalities while stressing the value of avoiding "the devil" of details became an important mantra in Government announcements about negotiating agreements with the SPLA.<sup>163</sup> Thus, Sudan Radio and TV referred frequently to wealth sharing, but never announced that the wealth sharing protocol provided for a 50-50 split of oil revenues between the north and south.<sup>164</sup> In January 2005, President al-Bashir set out on a tour of the south, proclaiming that the war was over and promising development of the south would soon follow, but key details of the wealth sharing agreement remained unsettled and many vital facets of the CPA remain contested between the Government and the SPLA right up until today.<sup>165</sup>

The Government of Sudan turned the accepted principle of conflict resolution negotiation which favors first seeking agreement on broad principles into a defensive strategy calculated to subvert meaningful results. Beneath the Government's ambivalence towards broadcasting the details of wealth sharing lay a multitude of motives. Although "an unwritten understanding that the SPLM [Sudan People's Liberation Movement] would receive either the finance or energy ministry" underlay the CPA, the SPLM was denied both ministries, forcing it to depend on the Government for data on the value of Sudan's annual oil revenues and permitting Government officials to understate those

---

<sup>161</sup> Eric Reeves, "Hopes Fading in Naivasha (Kenya) for Sudan Peace," accessed on 29 July 2006 at: <http://www.blue-nile.org/September-2003.htm>

<sup>162</sup> "Sudanese government delegation in Kenya discusses wealth sharing," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 17 December 2004.

<sup>163</sup> See for example the comments on the "devil" of details of Sayyid al-Khatib, the official spokesperson of the Sudanese government negotiating team at Naivasha in his interview with the London-based Arabic newspaper Al-Sharq al-Awsat, translated by the BBC Monitoring Service and reproduced in "Sudan govt., SPLM agree to transform bilateral peace deal to a national one," Sudan Tribune, 1 June 2004, accessed on 1 August 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=3205](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=3205)

<sup>164</sup> The Sudan Radio Service, funded by the US Agency for International Development and broadcasting in English from Kenya, announced the oil revenue protocol and the 50-50 split on 12 November 2004. We have found no reference to the 50-50 split of oil revenues in any broadcast originating with Sudan Radio and TV.

<sup>165</sup> "Sudanese president addresses biggest town in south," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 10 January 2005.



revenues at will.<sup>166</sup> Senior SPLM official Salva Kiir is the source of the assertion that President al-Bashir is convinced that the southerners will eventually vote for separation in the referendum scheduled to be held in 2011, six years after the signing of the CPA, regardless of who controls the finance and energy ministries.<sup>167</sup> In the meantime, Sudan continues to fund its growing domestic arms industry with revenues from its oil exports which constituted 42 percent of total government revenue in 2002 and amounted to 70 percent of Sudan's total export revenues in 2005.<sup>168</sup>

Salva Kiir, the controversial southern politician named First Vice-President of Sudan following the death of John Garang in a helicopter crash, expected the SPLM's appointees to the National Petroleum Commission to provide him with data on the quantity of oil being produced in the South, but events unfolded contrary to his expectations.<sup>169</sup> Interviewed by the Khartoum Monitor, Vice-President of the South Riek Machar declared that the Government of Sudan had failed to transfer \$500 million in oil revenue to his region, that the SPLM had no idea of the correct figures for oil revenues, and that only SPLM control of the energy ministry would provide a transparent means for dealing with this problem.<sup>170</sup>

Salva Kiir later came to recognize his mistake in not fighting harder to secure the finance or energy portfolio for the SPLM. In July 2006 he admitted that the National Petroleum Commission was dysfunctional, alleging that the Northern Congress Party of President al-Bashir refused to accept the mechanism that would ensure a 50-50 split of the oil revenues.<sup>171</sup> As of early August 2006, the National Petroleum Commission was meeting infrequently and the Government of Sudan and the SPLM were debating whether the Commission should be an advisory or a decision making body.<sup>172</sup> The National Congress Party's avoidance of the "devil" of details now seems to have been part of a strategy to gain international acceptance by signing a comprehensive peace agreement, but rendering the agreement meaningless by bogging down its implementation in a welter of disputes over the meaning of its vague generalities. Death by a thousand cuts looms as the fate awaiting the Comprehensive Peace. By not broadcasting the details of wealth sharing and keeping fuzzy the specifics of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, the Government of Sudan has given itself every opportunity to evade the intent of its two most important signed undertakings with the South. Sudan's broadcast strategy provides

---

<sup>166</sup> Human Rights Watch, "The Impact of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the New Government of National Unity on Southern Sudan," Number 1 (March 2006), 7 accessed 2 August 2006 at: <http://hrw.org/backgrounders/africa/sudan0306/sudan0306.pdf>

<sup>167</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>168</sup> Human Rights Watch, *Sudan, Oil and Human Rights*, 59. See U.S. Energy Information Administration, "Sudan: Background," accessed on 3 August 2006 at: <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/Sudan/Background.html>

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., citing Salva Kiir's speech at American University, Washington, D.C., 6 November 2005.

<sup>170</sup> "South Sudan vice-president interviewed on oil revenue, refugees, other issues," BBC Monitoring, Source: Khartoum Monitor website, 27 January 2006.

<sup>171</sup> James Morgan, "Sudan's Kiir says there is slow progress in peace implementation," Sudan Tribune, 20 July 2006, accessed on 2 August 2006 at: [www.sudantribune.com/article\\_impr.php3?id\\_article=16729](http://www.sudantribune.com/article_impr.php3?id_article=16729)

<sup>172</sup> United Nations, Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan," S/2006/426, 23 June 2006.



a valuable window on its true intention, which is looking more and more as if it is to retain exclusive control over the distribution of the oil revenues.

Sudanese government-owned broadcasters treated news of the negotiation of the Darfur Peace Agreement with the same vagueness and lack of details with which they portrayed the Comprehensive Peace Agreement for the South. On 16 September 2005, Sudan Radio announced the start of the first phase of talks on power sharing, wealth sharing, and security arrangements.<sup>173</sup> As in the case of the CPA, after talks teetered on the verge of collapse throughout October and November,<sup>174</sup> President al-Bashir was quoted on Sudan Radio at the end of November declaring that the atmosphere at the talks was "suitable" for success.<sup>175</sup>

On 11 April 2006 the UN Security Council endorsed the deadline of 30 April 2006 set by the African Union for a comprehensive agreement between Sudan and the Darfur rebels.<sup>176</sup> All through February and March 2006, Sudan Radio and TV announced progress at the talks, but independent newspapers such as al-Mashahir emphasized that power and wealth sharing issues remained unresolved in the talks.<sup>177</sup> On 26 April, only four days before reaching the deadline of 30 April and one day after the UN Security Council sanctioned four alleged war criminals in the Darfur conflict did the Sudanese Government and the rebels arrive at a preliminary understanding.<sup>178</sup> In a typically vague report, bereft of any specific details, Sudan Radio announced on 21 May that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had explained the clauses on wealth, power sharing and security arrangements in Darfur to the ambassadors present at the Abuja peace negotiations.<sup>179</sup>

Ignored in reports emanating from Sudan Radio was the rejection of the peace accord by many of the Darfur rebels and Sudanese Government armed attacks on groups in Darfur which refused to sign the accord.<sup>180</sup> On 2 July, Jan Pronk, UN Special Representative of the Secretary General in Sudan, announced that the Darfur Peace Agreement was on the verge of collapse because it did not resonate with the people of

<sup>173</sup> "Sudan's Abuja peace negotiators to conduct workshops to consolidate opinions," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1600gmt, 16 September 2005.

<sup>174</sup> "Sudan's Darfur cease-fire agreement 'on brink of collapse,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, 15 October 2005; "Sudanese peace talks adjourned, progress 'negligible,'" BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Ra'y al-Amm website, 21 October 2005.

<sup>175</sup> "Sudan's Al-Bashir says atmosphere 'suitable' for success of Abuja talks," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 28 November 2005.

<sup>176</sup> "UN Security Council says Darfur peace deal must occur by April 30<sup>th</sup>," Sudan Tribune, 11 April 2006; UN Security Council Presidential Statement, 11 April 2006, S/PRST/2006/16.

<sup>177</sup> "Sudan: power, wealth-sharing committees continue meetings in Abuja," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 7 February 2006; "Sudan, Darfur rebels fail to agree on power sharing in Abuja," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, 13 February 2006.

<sup>178</sup> UNSC Resolution 1672(2006): Adopted by the Security Council at its 5423<sup>rd</sup> meeting, on 25 April 2005; "Programme summary of Sudanese TV news," BBC Monitoring, Source: Sudan TV, Omdurman, in Arabic, 15 March 2006.

<sup>179</sup> "Sudan: State minister briefs ambassadors on Abuja peace accord," BBC Monitoring, Source: Republic of Sudan Radio, Omdurman, in Arabic, 1500gmt, 21 May 2006.

<sup>180</sup> Xan Rice and Ewen MacAskill, "Darfur Peace Hopes Collapse as Rebels Reject Proposed Deal," Guardian, 1 May 2006.



Darfur. "So far," declared Pronk on his personal blog site ([www.janpronk.nl](http://www.janpronk.nl)), "nothing has been done. None of the deadlines agreed in the text of the agreement have been met."<sup>181</sup> Violence in Darfur has escalated since the DPA was signed and violations of the Accord have been ignored, Pronk reported on 6 July.<sup>182</sup>

## **7. CONCLUSION: THE MEANING AND SIGNIFICANCE OF GOVERNMENT OF SUDAN BROADCASTS FOR THE PREDICTION OF SUDAN'S FUTURE POLICIES IN DARFUR**

The massive international campaign to end the Government of Sudan's support for Janjaweed attacks on unarmed civilians in Darfur has given birth to Khartoum's current strategy. Threatened with severe sanctions by the U.N. Security Council, the Government pursued the appearance of compromising and granting greater autonomy and wealth sharing to rebellious regions. After dragging out negotiations for as long as possible, Khartoum agreed to sign nebulous peace agreements with the South and the West open to years of disputation and negotiation over the meaning of their ambiguous terms. Prior to the signing of these peace agreements, Sudanese government broadcasters transmitted optimistic messages reporting steady progress and a positive atmosphere at the talks even in periods when the talks had collapsed and the Darfur rebels had rejected the terms of proposed peace agreements.<sup>183</sup>

We have learned from our analysis of Sudanese government broadcasts that there are different patterns for the Government's use of Sudan Radio, Sudan TV and the Government's websites. The Government of Sudan uses Sudan TV and the websites of the Sudanese News Agency to anticipate policy changes and shape the reactions to them among Sudan's educated elite. The Government acts as if it fears and respects the potential for political activism among educated Sudanese. Radio Sudan, on the other hand, addresses poor workers and farmers with little time for politics and anti-government activities. Radio Sudan rarely anticipates policy changes. Rather, it is largely a valuable tool for mobilizing participation in government-organized mass demonstrations by the poor in Sudan's largest cities, strengthening the Government's claims that any attempt to impose U.N. troops for the enforcement of peace in Darfur would meet with massive resistance from the majority of Sudanese. Yet without U.N.

---

<sup>181</sup> "Darfur peace deal on brink of collapse- UN's Pronk," Associated Press, 2 July 2006, accessed on 6 August 2006 at: <http://www.janpronk.nl/index.php?article16480>

<sup>182</sup> "Darfur violence worse since peace deal- UN Pronk," Reuters, 6 July 2006, accessed on 6 August 2006 at: [http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id\\_article=16552](http://www.sudantribune.com/article.php3?id_article=16552)

<sup>183</sup> "Sudanese government, rebels close to deal-vice president," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Ra'y al-Amm website, in Arabic, 15 May 2004; "Sudan's Darfur cease-fire agreement on brink of collapse," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, in Arabic, 15 October 2005; "Sudan optimist about the next round of Darfur peace talks," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, in Arabic, 9 November 2005; "Sudan, Darfur rebels fail to agree on power sharing in Abuja," BBC Monitoring, Source: Al-Mashahir website, 13 February 2006; "Sudanese vice-president meets Darfur rebel leader," BBC Monitoring, Source: SUNA, in Arabic, 10 April 2006; "No breakthrough in talks between Sudanese government, Darfur rebels," BBC Monitoring, Source: UN Integrated Regional Information Network, in English, 11 April 2006.

troops, the African Union forces stationed in Sudan are ill-equipped to protect civilians from Khartoum's twin policies of "divide and displace."<sup>184</sup>

Current indications from Sudan's broadcasts are that the National Congress Party-dominated government in Khartoum will drag out the process of implementing its signed agreements for as long as possible, banking on its armed opponents in the South and in Darfur to continue fighting amongst themselves and relying on the tendency of the international community to lose patience and focus its attention elsewhere. John Prendergast, Senior Advisor to the International Crisis Group summarized the prospects for Darfur and the South in a telling Op-Ed piece in the Boston Globe on 16 July 2006. He wrote:

The regime in Khartoum has taken the measure of the international community and believes it will face no consequence for continuing to support the Janjaweed and blocking a UN peacekeeping mission. As one high-ranking Sudanese government official brazenly told me this week, "The United Nations Security Council has threatened us so many times we no longer take it seriously." That state of impunity and arrogance is dangerous to the international system and deadly to the people of Darfur.<sup>185</sup>

Unprepared by Sudan's government controlled media for the loss of revenue which would accompany any seriously implemented sharing of oil revenues with the South and the West, and schooled by the Government media to regard southerners and Darfurians as fractious, disorganized, and backward interlopers in the serious work of governing Sudan, Arab northerners are ill prepared for accommodation with the southern and western regions of the country which contribute the bulk of its revenues. This is the surest indication that the Government of Sudan has no intention of living with its signed agreements pledging greater autonomy, revenue sharing and an integrated defence force to the leaders of dissident movements in the South and the West. The international community will ignore this evidence at its peril. The struggle of the people in southern and western Sudan for greater autonomy, a fair share of oil revenues, and security from attack has only just begun.

---

<sup>184</sup> Human Rights Watch, Sudan, Oil and Human Rights (New York: Human Rights Watch, 2003), 50-59, on web at:

<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2003/sudan1103/>

<sup>185</sup> John Prendergast, "A Dying Deal in Darfur," Boston Globe, 16 July 2006, accessed on 3 August 2006 at: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=4265&l=>